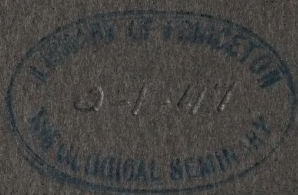


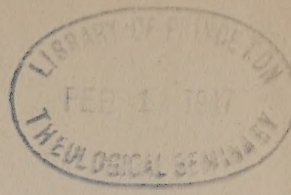
OUR
PALESTINE:
CONFLICT—OR COOPERATION?

JABIR SHIBLI

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PALESTINE:
CONFLICT—OR COOPERATION?

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DEDICATED
TO
ARAB YOUTH
BUILDERS OF
THE NEW ARAB WORLD

FOREWORD

For twenty-five years there has been no peace in Palestine, and there will be no peace until a new attitude prevails. If powerful states continue to support Zionist claims and aggression in Palestine, they will prolong the conflict and invite the gravest political dangers. On the other hand, there is in the Palestine situation an opportunity to apply a higher morality to political affairs and bring about understanding between Jew and Arab. Since the conflict is not racial or religious but economic and political, it can be eradicated. There is one irrevocable fact—the Arabs and Jews of Palestine have got to live together. The only stable solution to their problem must rest on mutual good will and friendship. When aggression is stopped, the way will be open for reconciliation and cooperation. Let Arabs and Jews and all who love the Holy Land seek the peace and prosperity of Our Palestine.

The author is a Christian native of Lebanon, who, after studying at the American University of Beirut, came to this country to continue his education. He holds degrees from Oberlin College, the University of North Dakota, the University of Wisconsin, McCormick Seminary and Columbia University. He has been a professor of mathematics at The Pennsylvania State College since 1921, and is the author of two books in his chosen field, and a contributor to various magazines.

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THE PALESTINE REALITY

During the First World War Zionist leaders made a deal with British politicians and secured their promise for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Encouraged by the unprecedented success of their movement, the Zionists have greatly expanded their demands. Instead of a national home within Palestine, they are now demanding that the whole of Palestine be converted into a Jewish state. In pursuing their national ambitions they are using extraordinary efforts to mobilize American sentiment in favor of unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth.

It is fair to say that America seeks to be just, to respect the rights of other peoples, and to encourage the principles of freedom and democracy. The American public, however, is not well-informed on the situation in Palestine. Zionist propaganda is so clever and widespread, while the Arab case is without voice either in the press or on the radio, that many Americans have come to look at Palestine through Zionist spectacles. Before making their judgment and taking action on the Palestine question, Americans ought to study the facts and evidence in order to see clearly what the issues involved are. To be fair and just it requires a knowledge of the Arab side of the question as well as the Jewish side.

THE ZIONISTS RUIN A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Thirty years ago there was in Palestine an unsurpassed spiritual and economic opportunity that involved the happiness of millions of Arabs and Jews and all who love the Holy Land. Arabs and Jews lived together amicably in Palestine and throughout the Arab world as they had done for thirteen centuries. If at the end of the First World War Jewish leaders had sought a friendly understanding with the Arabs, and had offered to cooperate with them in rebuilding Palestine and other Arab countries which had been retarded by Turkish misrule, the Arabs would have welcomed as friends and fellow citi-

zens all Jews who wished to come. There would have been no Palestine problem. The Jews could have entered and settled in friendly relationship with their Arab fellow citizens, and themselves become loyal citizens of Palestine. The two branches of the Semitic race would have united in developing the country and building a new civilization more brilliant than the one they built in the Middle Ages. They would have given the world a fine example of good will and cooperation.

That opportunity has vanished. What might have been a great adventure in human living was ruined by the Zionist attitude. According to Henrietta Szold, great humanitarian and founder of Hadassah, "the fatal mistake of the Jews from the very beginning of the Zionist movement was their failure to understand and make friends with the Arabs." Instead of extending to the Arabs the hand of fellowship, Zionist leaders took it upon themselves to commit their movement to the conquest of Palestine by aid of the sword. They made a political bargain with British imperialists according to which Palestine was to become a Jewish state under the mask of a national home, and at the same time a military base to defend the British Empire. Thus for thirty years, while the Arabs were strait-jacketed by a British military force, the Zionists poured into the little Arab state of Palestine over half a million Jews who entered the country not as refugees seeking a home, but as conquerors. During this period the Jews have risen from 10 per cent to 33 per cent of the population. In 1920 there was one Jew to nine Arabs; today there is one Jew to two Arabs.

ZIONIST AIMS

The aim of political Zionism is to get as many Jews as possible into Palestine in order to attain a Jewish majority in the population and convert Palestine into a Jewish state in which the Arabs would be dominated or uprooted and transferred to other lands. In the words of their chief spokesman, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, "The aim of Zionism is to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. If the Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish state, every facility will be given them to transfer elsewhere." In order to make room for the Zionists, Ben-Horin

would transfer the million and a half Arabs of Palestine and Transjordan into Iraq; while Ziff would "make the Arabs go back to the desert where they came from."

The establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is only the immediate and apparent aim of the Zionists. In order to understand the terrific fight they are making to secure Palestine, one must take into consideration the economic possibilities of that country. The Zionists see the important strategic position of Palestine as an industrial and commercial center at the crossroads of three continents. One Zionist estimates the region which Palestine could serve as a commercial and financial center as one inhabited by 100 million people, with a remoter region of 400 million people. The budding agricultural and industrial development in the Middle East will need outside financing. The magnitude of the returns whets the appetite of those who have money to lend.

Thus political Zionism covets a land that belongs to the Arabs in order to make it a Jewish state and financial center. Since the Arabs do not meekly submit to this robbery, Zionists are using subtle and terrific pressure upon Britain and America to subdue the Arabs by military force and make Palestine safe for the proposed Jewish commonwealth.

THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION

Zionists lay claim to Palestine on two main grounds, neither of which has legal or moral standing. There is the claim based on the ancient historical connection between the Jews and Palestine—a connection which ended two thousand years ago, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the Jews were dispersed. While the Jewish association with Palestine is dear to them, it must be admitted that a political claim based on such remote connection is weak. It is impossible to concede the principle that a previous occupation of a country constitutes a political right to return to it after two thousand years, especially when that country has been permanently occupied by another people. The historical connection does not constitute a right to free immigration and Jewish rule. If such a claim is valid, then the Greeks have a right to Asia Minor, the

Arabs to Spain, and the Mexicans to Texas and California. The claim of the Zionists that they have a right to return to the land of their fathers because the minds of the Jews have longed toward it for centuries is fanciful. On this principle the United States has only to desire Canada and Mexico long enough to claim the right for their annexation.

While the Jews entered Palestine and left it at least three different times in their history, the Arabs have lived in Palestine continuously for over four thousand years. This is a much longer, closer and stronger historical connection than that of the Jews. Some of the present Arab population, particularly the Christians among them, are descended from the natives who occupied the country before the days of Abraham. For the past two thousand years the Arabs have been the predominating population. In 1918 they constituted 90 per cent of the population, and now they are 67 per cent. A tenure of 2000 years constitutes a good claim—it is better than the claim of the Americans to America or the Anglo-Saxons to England. In addition to the rights which go with long and continuous occupation and use, the Arabs have the natural rights inherent in actual possession. It must be admitted that on all accepted historical and political grounds, Palestine is an Arab country. The Arab is rooted in its soil, and no power can take it away from him without a fight.

LAND OF THREE FAITHS

Again, Zionists say that the Jews have a right to Palestine because it is their Holy Land. This is specially stressed because of its appeal to religious people. The unfortunate fact, however, is that the Jewish immigrants are largely devoid of religious conviction. For what was once a religious and humanitarian movement has been perverted by Zionist leaders into a campaign to restore the ancient Jewish state. To quote Dr. Toynbee, Zionism is "in essence a secular economico-political expression of Jewish national aspirations." By its overemphasis on the secular phase it has corrupted the mind of the immigrants, making them indifferent to the Jewish religious faith,

given entirely to materialistic ends, and determined to dominate Palestine and the economic life of the Middle East.

It must be remembered that for the Moslem also Jerusalem is a sacred city. Moslems believe that in the second life they will go to heaven from Palestine. King Ibn Saud spoke for every Moslem when he said: "Palestine is my country of resurrection." Islamic institutions in Palestine include important educational and devotional centers of a living religion. The very site of the ancient Jewish temple is now occupied by the great Mosque of Omar which was built 1300 years ago, and is one of the masterpieces of the world's architecture. Its connection with the life of Mohammed has made it sacred to all Moslems, and a place of pilgrimage second only to Mecca and Medina. Any attempt on the part of the Jews to return to their ancient place of worship would be resisted by all the Moslems of the world. Can any one explain why the religious sentiment of 12 million Jews should be given more consideration than the religious devotion of 300 million Moslems? Could a Jewish state, established by Zionist intrigue and British and American bayonets, long survive in the midst of a hostile Moslem world?

Palestine is a land of three faiths. It is also the Christian Holy Land. It is hallowed by the life of Jesus and the apostles. The manger of Bethlehem, the home in Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee, and the Hill of Calvary are sacred places to 700 million Christians. Palestine is their spiritual home, but they do not on that account claim the right to a Christian majority or a Christian state.

Unfortunately, a number of Protestant clergymen, who are no doubt misinformed and misguided by Zionist propaganda, have gone Zionist. The support of Zionism has become an all too easy way of appearing a friend of the persecuted Jews, and a cheap means of enjoying the comfortable glow of big-hearted humanitarianism at the expense of the Arabs. To show sympathy with those who suffer is commendable, but to aid in the robbery of Palestine is hardly worthy of the Christian ministry. Do these Protestant Judaizers want the 140,000 Christian Arabs in Palestine to be dispossessed by the Jews? Do they want

these children of the early Church, who have kept the faith through peril, toil and pain, to be transferred to other lands in order to make room for Zionists? It is, however, somewhat reassuring that the great majority of Protestant ministers do not wish to lay the burden of their charitable feelings toward the Jews on the backs of the Arabs. They would have Christian justice toward the Arabs as well as Christian sympathy toward the Jews.

Let it be said in all kindness that millions of Christians do not consider the Jews as proper guardians of the Christian Holy Land. The Orthodox Church with its 200 million members, including Russia, is opposed to Jewish rule in the Holy Land of the Christians. And the Vatican, whose sympathy with the persecuted Jews is unquestioned, does not look with favor upon the conversion of Palestine into a Jewish state. These ancient Churches, which have been the custodians of the Christian shrines from the beginning, do not wish to see the sacred places connected with the name of Jesus transferred to Jewish hands.

That Palestine is the land of the Hebrew lawgivers and prophets does not constitute a right to a Jewish majority or Jewish rule. For Palestine is the Holy Land of three faiths. The rights in it of all these groups are moral and spiritual, not political, for the land belongs to its own citizens of all faiths.

FOREIGN PLEDGES

The Zionists contend that their claim to Palestine was legalized in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The Balfour Declaration, however, does not promise an "independent Jewish state in Palestine," nor does the Mandate imply it. There is a world of difference between a national home in Palestine, and the conversion of Palestine into a Jewish state. When the Balfour Declaration was made the British Government rejected the demand of the Zionists for a Jewish state and has since renewed that rejection at various times, as in the Churchill Memorandum of 1922, the White Paper of 1939, and the Labor Government statement of 1945. Since half a million Jews have gone to Palestine, the British Government holds that the essential purpose of the Balfour Declaration has been

fulfilled, the promised national home has been established, and that any further Jewish immigration would upset the political and social life of the whole Middle East region and jeopardize the welfare of the Arabs whose rights are safeguarded in the Declaration itself and in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Zionist charge, therefore, that Britain promised to establish a Jewish state in Palestine and has broken her promise is false. Such a charge is based on deliberate misinterpretation of a political declaration made during a dark period of the First World War, when Britain had her back to the wall and she needed Jewish support and influence which were not forthcoming without that declaration. While many official promises have been made to the Arabs by the British Government, Arab rights do not rest on such political declarations and resolutions. The Arabs belong. In culture, language, race and traditions Palestine has been an integral part of the Arab world for over thirteen centuries. The Arabs have not accepted and never will accept the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate status. They do not concede to any nation or group of nations the right to rob them of their Palestine in order to give it to an alien people. Palestine is the heart and center of their world, and the Arabs have the right, and some day they will have the power to determine its destiny.

AS A PLACE OF REFUGE

The abominable treatment of the Jews during the Nazi regime is used by Zionists as a plea to make Palestine a haven of refuge for the Jews of Europe. The sufferings of the Jews have evoked the sympathy of all generous minds. The problem of relieving their distress is a world problem, and it would be unfair to solve it at the expense of the Arabs. Palestine can never provide a complete solution, and it has clearly done more than its share. Zionists, however, insist that Palestine is the only possible haven for Jewish refugees, and they reserve a special bitterness for those who propose relief without reference to Palestine. By linking the question of refuge with the status of

Palestine they obscure the real issue of a Jewish state in Palestine and obstruct the humanitarian work of relief.

The claim that Palestine offers the only refuge to the displaced Jews is a cloak for motives which will not bear the light of day. Palestine is overcrowded already, and it is only by dispossessing Arabs that room can be made for Jews. At present the population is 170 persons per square mile compared with 12 persons per square mile in Oregon and 44 persons per square mile in all the United States. The recent agitation for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine is not animated by humanitarian concern but by political objectives. The admission of 100,000 additional Jews to Palestine would increase the population by 10 persons to the square mile. The admission of a million and a half Jews, which Zionists demand, would increase the population by 100 per cent and make its density seven times that of the United States. If the United States, which is 300 times as large as Palestine, admits the entire number of stateless Jews, its population would be increased by less than one per cent.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America has suggested that the American quota system be applied on a world scale to the special problem of displaced Jews. This would divide the total number of Jewish refugees among the various countries in proportion to their existing Jewish communities. If America, Russia, France and Britain would accept their quotas, the homelessness of Jewry would soon be solved. It is hypocritical to express sympathy for the Jews and force their acceptance in Palestine, while refusing to admit them into one's own country. When one feels sorry for people he asks them to come to his home, he does not send them to somebody else's. We had a patriot once by the name of Josh Billings. He loved his country so much that he was willing to have all his wife's relatives go to the war. It seems that easy-going Protestant clergymen and toadying politicians love the Jews so much that they are willing to send them to Palestine, although the Jews themselves would prefer to come to America.

Zionists say that they are asking for a small corner of the

"immense domain" of the Arab world. But this little corner happens to be the heart and center of the Arab world, the key-stone state of the coming Arab union, the only bridge between the twenty million Arabs of Western Asia and the forty million Arabs of Northern Africa; and its occupation by the Jews would sever the Arab world and prevent its unification. The State of Connecticut is a small corner of the United States. Would the people of Connecticut be willing to open the gates of their state to unrestricted Jewish immigration so that when the Jews become a majority they would convert Connecticut into a Jewish state? The Arabs would not give Palestine to the Jews or the British for the same reason that America would not give Connecticut or California to the Jews or the Japanese.

It is a false plea that unrestricted or large immigration to Palestine is necessary to save the persecuted Jews of Europe. The Arabs are not responsible for the Jewish problem that it should be solved at their expense. The solution to Jewish persecution is to prevent it. The cure to anti-Semitism is not in the isolation of the Jews in Palestine. The Jews must be free to live in security and dignity in every land. Though Palestine is the spiritual home of every devout Jew, it does not follow that it should be regarded as the haven of refuge to the Jews of the world.

IS ZIONISM A BENEFIT TO THE ARABS?

Since their entry into Palestine the Zionists have added other arguments. Thus they try to justify their enterprise by advertising widely that the Arabs have greatly benefited by it. Some landowners and real estate agents have certainly become prosperous by selling land to the Zionists at high prices. But what became of the thousands of farmers who had been living on these estates for generations? Through Zionist purchases they lost the land which gave them the assurance of a permanent livelihood. For all land bought by Zionists is made by title to be the inalienable property of the Jewish people, and it can never be sold back to the Arabs. It ceases forever to be land where Arabs may live or work, since the terms of the lease prohibit the employment of Arab labor. Some of the farmers

dislodged by Zionists went to less fertile farms, but most of them drifted to Haifa and other cities to swell the already crowded market of day laborers. One of the principal effects of Jewish immigration has been the eviction of Arab farmers from the land which gave them their wheat and olives, fruits and vegetables; and the sucking of them into the cities to work for fifty or sixty cents a day, when work is available.

Zionists, of course, deny that Arabs are being dispossessed or displaced by Jewish immigrants. They say that the areas occupied by Jews were "nothing but swamps or sand dunes until they were reclaimed by Jewish toil." But any map of the Zionist land holdings would show that nearly all of them are situated in the most fertile plains and valleys of Palestine, as the plains of Sharon and Esdraelon. The land reclaimed by Zionists is but a small fraction (about one-tenth) of their holdings, the major part being well developed farms from which they dislodged Arab farmers. More than two-thirds of Zionist lands was sold to them over the heads of Arab tenant farmers by land-owners many of whom lived outside Palestine. The largest of these sales was a total area of 50,000 acres in the fertile plain of Esdraelon. This tract was sold for three and a half million dollars by the family of Sursoq, rich Christian Arabs living in Lebanon. As a result of this sale alone, 1700 Arab families, living in twenty-two villages, were evicted from their homes and farms where their people had lived for generations. The fact that Zionists have paid for land bought during the past fifteen years an average price of \$400 per acre is sufficient evidence to refute their absurd claim that their lands were nothing but deserts and swamps which have been reclaimed by Jewish toil.

When I was a student in an American missionary school in Lebanon, I learned in my geography class that the plain of Esdraelon was the most fertile spot in Syria and Palestine. Dr. Lewis Gaston Leary, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church at West Milford, New Jersey, was for three years a professor at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. In his book, *The Real Palestine*, published by Winston Co., 1911, Dr. Leary wrote: "There are large wheat fields on the plain of Esdraelon.

Sometime, under proper cultivation, it will be one of the most productive wheat fields in the world. . . . The plain of Sharon, besides being still celebrated for its flowers and fruits, yields a splendid return of wheat and barley." This was written at least ten years before the Zionists acquired their large properties in these plains. In spite of every evidence to the contrary, the Zionists persist in asserting that their lands "were nothing but swamps or sand dunes at the time that the Jews bought them."

Zionists claim that their vast purchases of land are legitimate, since "every foot of the land which the Jews own has been acquired, not through conquest or expropriation, but through purchase, usually at exorbitant prices." National laws, however, do not permit political expropriation by purchases of land on a large scale by an alien people. Palestine would not permit it except as the British military keep her down and helpless while the Zionists, backed by a large share of the wealth of the world, tempt absentee landowners to sell their land at high prices. Prior to 1941 the Zionists successfully opposed the levying of an income tax, and consequently the burden of taxation on farmers was out of all proportion to their ability to pay that many Arabs were forced to sell their farms to Jews. The result is the creation of a class of landless farmers who are economically insecure, and who feel that their plight is brought about by Jewish aggression.

The Zionists say that there are no landless Arabs; that "after the Palestinian Government had made a thorough search for dislodged Arabs, they could barely find some few hundred families who had been previously tilling the land that Jews now owned." This is a typical example of Zionist propaganda. In order to see its falsity one must understand that the British-Zionist definition of a "landless Arab", or "dislodged Arab", does not include one who, though he had lost all his land, had found work elsewhere. According to reliable estimates, 25 per cent of the Arab farmers are landless, and 30 per cent own about one acre each. The land which would have been available to them has passed to Jewish hands.

ZIONISM AND ARAB LABOR

One of the favorite weapons in the armory of Zionist propagandists is that the Zionist movement has benefited the Arabs by raising the wages of labor. But, like other Zionist assertions, this is only half the truth. For Zionism has also led to an abnormal rise in the cost of living, so that the economic condition of the common Arab laborer has not really improved. What Zionism has brought to the Arabs is inflation, not prosperity. Moreover, the Jewish Agency, which has taken away the land from Arab farmers, prohibits the employment of Arabs on Zionist land and "in all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by this Agency." Furthermore, the powerful Zionist labor unions, with their avowed policy of 100 per cent Jewish labor in Jewish enterprise, and with their efforts to create a demand for Jewish workers in order to get as many Jews as possible into Palestine, turn their full strength against any Jewish employer who is rash enough to employ Arab workers. If Arab workers are employed in some Jewish industrial enterprises on government work or elsewhere, it is only for the heavy and menial work and at low wages which Jews would not accept but which Arabs have no alternative but to accept. And where Arabs and Jews are employed in the same trade, a Zionist worker is paid twice as much as an Arab worker. The attitude of Zionists toward Arab labor is typical of their wrong attitude to the whole situation in Palestine—an indifference to the disintegrating effect of Zionism on the Arabs, and an excessive zeal to maintain and further the privileged position of the Jews.

JEWISH EXCLUSIVENESS

Having invaded Palestine and upset the life of its people, the Zionists are interested only in the life of their community and nothing else. They have made no effort to coalesce with the Arabs. On the contrary, Zionism has aimed to organize in Palestine a closed and exclusive community where only Jews will produce and only Jews will profit; where Jewish capital shall be spent entirely upon Jewish interests. The labor unions are all-Jewish unions; Jewish children must go to 100 per cent

Jewish schools; Jews must employ only Jewish workers, patronize only Jewish hotels, Jewish taxis, Jewish stores. Even the great Hebrew University is only for those who speak Hebrew. As to medical facilities, while Zionists claim that their hospitals have brought modern medicine and healing to the Arabs, the report of the Palestine Government states that all the non-Jews (Arabs and non-Arabs) admitted in all Jewish hospitals during 1942 were only 710. It is true that some of the taxes levied on Jews (levied on Arabs as well) has been used by the British Government for public improvements—roads, ports, education, public health, etc.—in which the Arabs have a natural and unavoidable share. But any benefit that reaches the Arabs is merely incidental to the Jewish development, and the Zionist policy insures that such benefit shall be as slight as possible. Thus the Jews, who in Europe and America champion democracy, tolerance and universalism, become in Palestine, under the influence of Zionism, the fervent apostles of social, economic and political chauvinism.

The frequently made assertion that Zionism has brought progress and prosperity to the Arabs of Palestine is a myth. Without Jewish immigration the Arabs of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon have made greater progress than the Arabs of Palestine. And whatever progress may have been made by the Arabs of Palestine has been made not because of Zionism but in spite of Zionism. Indeed, Zionist objections have often hampered the Palestine Government in its endeavor to promote Arab education and welfare. If, instead of being compelled to organize for defense against Zionist aggression, the Arabs had been free to devote their energy to constructive effort, the results would be ten times what they are.

Far from benefiting the Arabs, Zionism has been an economic as well as a political menace to them. Since the incursion of the Jews, the economic position of the Arabs has been less secure than before. While the Arabs can depend only upon their own efforts, they find themselves confronted with the competition of a well organized group subsidized by the wealth of the Jews all over the world. This lavish financial backing of

the Jews causes the Arabs to face the future with concern because they feel their relative position deteriorating. So long as an economic gulf separates Jews from Arabs, we cannot expect peace and happiness in Palestine.

INCREASE IN POPULATION

The increase in the Arab population of Palestine is used by Zionists as evidence of the increased prosperity of the Arabs, due to Jewish immigration. Since the advent of Zionism in 1920, the Arab population has increased from 650,000 to 1,150,000. Of the 500,000 increase about one-tenth is from immigration and nine-tenths is attributable to natural increase. Since military conscription under Turkish rule ended and immigration of Asiatics to North and South America has been stopped, and because of the improvement in health conditions under the British administration, the growth of the Arab population has increased rapidly. While the annual rate of natural increase of the Jews is only 1.3 per cent, the rate of the Arabs is 2.7 per cent. Thus all the space that the Arabs have is needed for their own expansion.

The Zionist assertion that thousands upon thousands of Arabs from the neighboring states have migrated to Palestine, seeking higher wages and better living conditions, is entirely unfounded. For the thousands of Arab workers who enter Palestine every year are not immigrants, but are seasonal workers who come for a few weeks during the harvest and then return to their own states. According to the *Statesman's Year Book*, since 1920 the Arab population of Palestine has increased by 80 per cent; while the populations of Iraq and Transjordan have increased by 100 per cent. These facts do not support the Zionist claim that Arabs from the neighboring states have been flocking into Palestine to reap some of the supposed prosperity brought by Zionism.

Since 1920 the Jewish population of Palestine has increased from 60,000 to 560,000, at a rate of over 20,000 per year, not including illegal entries encouraged by Zionist organizations. This managed and subsidized immigration has been forced upon Palestine by a pitiless alliance of financial and military

powers that has deprived the Arabs of their natural right to control the quality and number of immigrants to their country. America believes in the principle of selective and controlled immigration, and practices it. Why should Palestine be denied that right?

About half of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine were refugees from Nazi persecution. Now that the war is over and the Nazi regime is destroyed, thousands of these refugees from Europe intend to return to their native lands. The Czech Jews, the Dutch Jews, and other Jews who knew no persecutions, would prefer the security of their old home to the uncertainties of Palestine. The "Daily Mail" correspondent in Jerusalem was informed that more than 1000 Czech and Austrian Jews residing in Palestine decided to go back to their countries of origin, and that they received letters from Zionist terrorists threatening them not to leave. It is significant that of the 6000 American Jews in Palestine, only a hundred have given up their American citizenship. It seems that the present agitation by Zionists for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine has for its real purpose the replacement of those who are expected to leave the Jewish homeland when conditions in Europe become more favorable. The fact is that while Zionists are pleading for admission into Palestine of the homeless Jews in Europe, they are at the same time issuing pleas to the Jews in America for volunteers to emigrate to Palestine.

ZIONIST AGRICULTURE

Zionists emphasize their ability to redeem the land and raise harvests in the desert. The Jews own over 450,000 acres, which is about one-fifth of the land suitable for cultivation, or about seven per cent of the total area of Palestine. Nearly all of it is situated in the most fertile areas; not in the hill country where the ancient Jews lived, but in the coastal plains where the Canaanites dwelt. The Jews have built roads, planted trees, drained swamps and built irrigation canals on a small scale. The land so reclaimed, however, is a small fraction of their holdings, the major part being well developed farms from which they dislodged Arab farmers. While the technical skill

MAP OF THE ARAB WORLD

Scale 240 mi. = 1 in.



THE ARAB KEYSTONE AND BRIDGE

Palestine is the heart and center of the Arab world. Extending, as it does, from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, Palestine is the keystone state of the coming Arab union. Its settlement by Jews would be equivalent to the occupation of Pennsylvania by France or Russia. Palestine is the only bridge between the twenty-million Arabs of Western Asia and the forty million Arabs of Northern Africa. Its conversion into a Jewish state would sever the Arab world and prevent its unification. It is no wonder that the Arabs are determined at any cost to keep Palestine in the Arab fold.

—JABIR SHIBLI



and unlimited financial resources of the Jews have produced remarkable results, most of the agricultural settlements are not self-supporting, and they would soon collapse without constant aid from abroad. For over two decades they have been living on charity. According to British estimates the whole Zionist enterprise is only 40 per cent self supporting.

While the achievements of the agricultural settlements have been remarkable, the emphasis placed on them is disproportionate. About one-fifth of the Jews live in these settlements, and according to the Report of the Royal Commission (1937), only 6.4 per cent of the Jewish population are workers (earners) on the land. The great mass of Jewish immigrants live in the cities. The population of the all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv is twice the number of all the Jews living in agricultural settlements.

Most Arabs gain their livelihood from the soil, and they are passionately devoted to it as had been their farmer ancestors for thousands of years. The Arabs own four-fifths of the cultivable areas, including 95 per cent of the olive groves and more than half the area of the citrus fruit orchards. They own 200,000 cattle against the Jews' 30,000, and 225,000 sheep against the Jews' 20,000. While the Jewish agriculture is largely limited to fruit, mostly citrus, the Arabs raise a variety of crops. Long before there was any Zionism the Arabs were raising grains, olives, vegetables, grapes and oranges of the finest quality. Zionists seek to disparage Arab farmers by calling them peasants and representing them as backward. But according to Sir John Simpson's Report (1931), "The Arab farmer is a competent and capable agriculturalist. His field, prepared for sowing, is never inferior to that prepared by the most perfect implements, and sometimes it even surpasses all others. The defect lies only in its slowness." When comparisons are made between the prosperous appearance of Jewish colonies and the condition of Arab farms, it must be remembered that the Jewish colonies have been heavily subsidized while the Arabs can only depend on their own efforts.

That the Jews have the wealth and the ability to develop

Palestine is obvious. But their claim to Palestine on the ground that they can rebuild it is on the same level with Hitler's claim to Europe on the ground that he could give it a new order of prosperity. It is dangerous doctrine that the Zionists and their supporters advocate, that because a certain people have the power to develop the material resources of an area inhabited by another people, they have the political right to possess it. This is but an echo of a discredited and outmoded colonial imperialism, and a violation of the American principle of the right of every people to determine its national self-government without interference from any foreign source.

ZIONIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Zionists take special pride in the industrialization of Palestine. In two decades Jewish capitalists have built half a dozen large industries and four thousand minor ones. This phenomenal development has been made possible by the provision of cheap philanthropic capital and the monopoly for the production of electric power granted by the government. Many of these industries, however, were created not because they were required for the normal development of the country, but in order to get as many Jews as possible into Palestine to attain a Jewish majority in the population. Moreover, excessive speculation is responsible for the creation of many industries that have no assured market, and many others that depend on raw materials imported from outside. This has led to the imposition of a high protective tariff and a consequent rise in the price of commodities and the cost of living. Since Palestine has a meager rainfall and an extremely limited water power and has none but imported iron or fuel, it is very doubtful if this forced industrialization has any lasting value. Although the development of Zionist industry is impressive, it must be admitted that as a small, highly industrialized Jewish state in the midst of a hostile Arab world boycotting Jewish goods, Palestine could be neither prosperous nor happy.

Furthermore, all the economic situations controlling the future—the fertile valleys and coastal plains, the streams for power and irrigation, the potash development of the Dead

Sea—have gone into the hands of Zionists who have been in a preferred position. The Arabs were not given the opportunity to participate in the development of the natural resources of their own country. The Lord Melchetts and Lord Readings of British Jewry and other Zionist capitalists in Europe and America have a large stake in the economic exploitation of Palestine for its strategic position as an industrial and commercial center which might serve one hundred million people in the Near East who are just entering on a new economic era. The whole region is an excellent field for outside financing and high dividends. The Lowdermilk scheme for the Jordan valley development fits beautifully into the vast plans of the rich barons. Protestant clergymen who promote Zionism may not know that they serve the interests of the Sadducees.

ARAB UNITY

Zionists often assert that Arab resistance to increased Jewish immigration is a by-product of fascist propaganda. This is another Zionist myth. The agents of Hitler may have fanned the flames of discontent, but to ascribe to foreign agents a revolt which has lasted a quarter of a century at the cost of thousands of Arabs killed by British bombs and bayonets is a delusion or misrepresentation. The real cause of Arab resistance to British-Zionist aggression is the profound attachment of the Arabs to their soil and their culture, and their determination to fight for freedom and survival. It is not the muftis and effendis alone who oppose the Jewish invasion. The entire Arab population of all classes, Moslem and Christian, landowner and peasant, are immovably united in the defense of their sacred heritage. And the Arabs of the neighboring states are equally determined in resisting the establishment of a Jewish state whose presence in their midst would threaten the unity and welfare of the Arab world and make Palestine a center of intrigue for Western military powers.

The Arabs of Palestine look around them and see autonomy in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Egypt. They would like that independence for their country, too. But they find Zionism to be not merely an obstacle to

the development of national self-government, but the only serious obstacle. For the Zionists oppose the application of the principle of national self-determination in Palestine as long as the Jews are in the minority. Again, the Palestinian Arabs wish to join their sister states in the Arab League and take part in the development of the future Arab union. They find themselves frustrated by Zionism. Thus the Arabs are suffering from a gross injustice. It is unfair to create a minority in Palestine in order to perpetuate its occupation by a foreign power. It is unfair to plant an alien colony in the midst of the Arab world to prevent or delay its unification.

THE UNITED NATIONS' DEBT TO THE ARABS

Zionists persist in disparaging the Arab contribution to the war effort. They point with pride to sixty thousand Jewish volunteers as compared with only ten thousand Palestinian Arabs; but they deliberately fail to specify that most of these Jewish volunteers were for home guard duty in Palestine where no fighting was expected. For three years Zionists clamored for the creation of a Jewish army to fight the Axis. When Britain finally acceded to their insistent demand, those who answered the call for a Jewish army were barely sufficient to organize a Jewish brigade. Although this brigade was placed in Italy, at the quietest war front, British leaders were disappointed that Jewish volunteers from Palestine and elsewhere were too few to keep up the necessary replacements in the Jewish brigade. It appears from recent events that the preparedness of the Jewish volunteers was in effect aimed not against the Axis but against the British and the Arabs.

The constant disparagement and deliberate misrepresentation of Arab life and achievements will not in the end help the Zionists. The Arabs will not resort to false propaganda. They stand on their own record. During the First World War the Arab Revolt in the Desert under Prince Feisal and Lawrence of Arabia saved the Suez Canal, which was threatened by the Turks, and made possible the invasion of Palestine by Allied forces and the consequent defeat of the German-Turkish armies on that front. General Allenby told the Peace Con-

ference that the Arabs made a vital contribution toward the victory of the Allies. The Arabs kept faith with Britain and Arab soldiers gave their lives in the cause of Arab freedom and Allied victory. After the war had been won Britain did not honor her promise to the Arabs. Instead of giving the Arabs their independence, Britain and France partitioned the Arab lands between them under the Mandate system, and Palestine was not only subjugated to Britain but also to the Jews of the world.

In this war the Arabs once more stood by the United Nations. Their faith in democracy and freedom for all nations determined their choice. Their long-established friendly relations with Britain were not severed in spite of British support of Zionism. They played an important role in the war, especially after the United States entered the conflict. Their agricultural products supplied the armed forces in the Mediterranean. Their oil served the navy and the air force. They cooperated wholeheartedly with the United Nations and gave them all the elbow room desired by the military experts. Loyal Arabs helped to protect the sea routes in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and strengthened the supply lines to Russia. Although Britain elected to make the Arab countries passive Allies and not active ones, thousands of Arabs joined the Allied forces. In the battle of Tunisia there were over 5000 casualties among Arab soldiers. General Wavell said that the Arabs rendered vital assistance in the African campaign and according to Prime Minister Churchill, in his speech following the Yalta Conference, the Arabs rendered good and meritorious service to democracy in the present war; all their national resources have been at the disposition of the United Nations; and Arab fighters are today with the Allied forces that have penetrated the citadel of Nazism. With regard to the Arab role in the war, then, whom shall we believe? Zionist leaders who make it their business to slander the Arabs, or General Allenby, General Wavell and Winston Churchill?

Forty million Arabs in their strategic lands on the cross-roads of three continents could have turned the tide of war in

favor of the Axis. After the fall of Crete Britain had only 30,000 soldiers in the Middle East, and Germany was ready to invade the Arab countries if the Arabs were friendly. Had the Arabs joined the Axis, the African campaign would have been won by Rommel, and all the resources of Africa and the oil of Arabia would have become available to the Axis powers. The Arab lands would have been used as a bridge for the junction between German and Japanese forces. The United Nations could hardly have hoped to win the war. It is no exaggeration to say that the Arabs gave them victory.

The contributions of the Arabs toward the winning of the war deserve recognition on the part of the United Nations. The Arabs must not be betrayed by their Allies as they were after the First World War. They deserve a share in the victory. This should include the liberation of Palestine from British-Zionist control and domination. Britain should now fulfill her promise to give Palestine self-government before 1949. The pledges made in the White Paper, when Arab friendship was indispensable for the safety of the British Commonwealth, cannot be nullified by Britain without losing her honor and the respect of the world. Should the unworkable and discredited Mandate be merely replaced by a new trusteeship, it would be another betrayal of the Arabs and another blot on the British escutcheon.

JEWISH-ARAB COOPERATION

Twenty-five years ago the Arabs, unfortunately, were unprepared to defend their heritage. The remarkable development of Arab unity, nationalism and democracy in recent years has made them strong and self-confident. They are determined to resist with violence any further Jewish immigration, if such immigration is imposed upon them by force. A Jewish state in Palestine would have to be created and maintained by force of arms. It would mean perpetual unrest and conflict in the whole Middle East. If Zionism is to dictate the British-American policy in Palestine, and the rights of the Arabs to their own country are disregarded, the Arabs would be forced to turn to Russia for help against the menace of a Jewish invasion.

What then is the solution of the Palestine problem? For a lasting solution of the Palestine problem Zionism must abandon its political alliance with Western military powers, and publicly renounce the intention to create a Jewish majority or establish a Jewish state. If political Zionism is dropped, the principal obstacle to a satisfactory solution would be removed. This requires a change of Jewish leadership; for so long as the present leaders of Zionism remain in power, the gulf they have created between Jew and Arab cannot be bridged. Let them be replaced by men like Dr. Magnes, Rabbi Lazaron, President Morgenstern, Mr. Rosenwald, Mr. Sulzberger, and other exponents of cultural Zionism who vigorously oppose the establishment of a Jewish state, who respect the rights of the Arabs and recognize that it is only in a peaceful Palestine, based on Jewish-Arab friendship and cooperation, that the cultural and spiritual ideals of true Zionism can be fulfilled.

The next step would be the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of an independent, democratic Palestine State—not two states, one Jewish and one Arab, but a single state. For Palestine is indivisible. The Jews are interested in all of it, and so are the Moslems and the Christians. A Palestinian state means a union of Jews and Arabs enjoying a common citizenship and equal political rights. Since Jews and Arabs are in the end to live together, let both groups forget conflicting aims and special privileges, and let them seek reconciling factors and common interests. Collaboration between Jews and Arabs in the common tasks of education, agriculture, industry and government would lead to better understanding and mutual confidence and good will. This is the way to bring peace and happiness to Palestine.

Then, since the interests of Britain are consistent with those of the Arab countries, a freely negotiated treaty between Britain and an independent Palestine would be of mutual helpfulness. I submit that such a plan would provide a center in which Jewish faith and culture will find inspiration in the land of their birth and their ancient glory. It would be stable because based on justice and Arab consent; and it would have

ever larger possibilities as Arab and Jewish interests meet and interpenetrate. There can be no other solution of the Palestine problem with any hope of success.

There is a new spirit abroad in the Arab world, quick with the promise of revival of Arab greatness. The Arabs of today have the same vitality and capacity as the Arabs who built a world empire and carried civilization to the whole world. They have the natural resources, the brains and the manpower. The unification of Arab countries is on the way; no imperialists or financiers can prevent it. Before the end of the present century there will be a United States of the Arabs with a hundred million people, extending from the Indian Ocean across Western Asia and Northern Africa to the Atlantic. British and American treatment of the Arabs today will influence the attitude of the Arabs and help mould the coming Arab world. The democracies can either win the friendship of a great people or drive them to seek the guarantors of their destiny elsewhere. A demonstration of Christian justice toward the Arabs will foster mutual faith and good will as a basis for international organization and world peace.

THE VOICE OF THE ARABS

The Palestine problem is the creation of political Zionism and British imperialism. The Balfour Declaration is the child of this unholy alliance. During the dark days of the First World War Britain promised independence to the Arabs and encouraged them to revolt against the Turks and aid the Allies. The Arabs fulfilled their part of the agreement by raising an army which formed the right wing of the Allied forces that guarded the Suez Canal and conquered Palestine and Syria. It was during the Revolt in the Desert, while the Arabs were dying in battle for their own independence and the victory of the Allies, that the Zionists made a bargain with British politicians and secured the promise of a national home for the Jews in Palestine of the Arabs.

The deal that Balfour and Lloyd George made with the Zionists was a betrayal of the Arabs and a violation of the British traditional sense of honor. The Arabs have not accepted and never will accept the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate status. Britain had no right to give away a property not her own, nor had the Zionists a better right to accept an illegitimate gift that could not be delivered. The fact that America and the League of Nations blessed the declaration cannot make it legitimate. No nation or group of nations has the moral right to dislodge a peaceful people from their native land where they have their homesteads and graveyards, their fields and fountains, their shrines and holy places, in order to give it to an alien people.

A SINISTER FORCE

Political and secular Zionism has been one of the forces of darkness in the world, destructive of Jewry and Araby alike. When Zionist leaders took it upon themselves to commit their movement to the conquest of Palestine by aid of the sword, and entered the arena of international intrigue by making a political alliance with Britain, they betrayed the Jewish people

and sowed the seed of the most cruel persecution in Jewish history. Hitler charged that the sympathy of German Zionists with Britain, which the declaration about Palestine was intended to win, was one of the principal causes that led to the breakdown of Germany's morale and her consequent defeat in the First World War. When Nazi leaders, who were preparing for a war of revenge against Britain, lost confidence in the loyalty of German Jews and suspected them of being prospective fifth columnists, they adopted a policy which led ultimately to mass extermination. Zionists claim that they saved 300,000 Jews by sending them to Palestine but they, of course, deny the accusation that the rash policy of Zionist leaders is largely responsible for the destruction of six million Jews by Nazi Germany.

Moreover, since political Zionism made the Jews of all the world virtual or potential citizens of a Jewish state to be established in Palestine by ousting another nation already in possession, the Jews in other countries have been accused of seeking two citizenships and cherishing two allegiances. The deplorable increase of anti-Semitism all over the world, including Britain and America, is a vague response of the world's feeling to the attitude of political Zionism. For the human spirit detests aggression whether practiced by Hitler in Europe, by Japan in China, or by Zionism in Palestine.

Furthermore, Zionism has split the Jewish community into two camps, the political Zionists who consider the Jews as a nation and seek to create a Jewish state, and the cultural Zionists who regard the Jews not as a nation, but as a religious community, and who are vigorously opposed to the establishment of a Jewish state. No other controversy in modern times has caused as much disunity, dissension and bitterness among the Jews. As one of their rabbis said recently, it has been a total war.

Political Zionism has not only stirred up old hatreds but has also made new enemies for the Jews. The Arabs have no race prejudice or inherent dislike for the Jews, and Arab history is remarkably free from any deliberate persecution of the

Jewish people. When Medieval Christendom persecuted the Jews, the Arabs gave them refuge and kind hospitality. Before World War I there was no safer place for the Jews than in Arab countries. It is incomprehensible that the Jews, whose fathers were the recipients of Arab generosity for centuries, should in these latter days call upon the Western powers to help them attack the only people that has treated the Jews decently.

A MENACE TO THE ARABS

For thirty years political Zionism has been a force making for the exploitation of Palestine and the disintegration of the life of its Arab inhabitants. It has been the agent of imperialism, creating in Palestine a second Ulster to thwart the Arab struggle for independence and unification. It has poured into tiny Palestine half a million Jews who entered the country under the protection of British arms, not as refugees seeking a home but as conquerors. It has acquired with the backing of British military force and a large share of the wealth of the world the most fertile areas of Palestine and made them the inalienable property of the Jews of the world. It has dislodged thousands of Arab families from lands which they had cultivated for generations and sucked them into the cities where they work long hours for bad wages and live in miserable huts built of flattened tin cans. It has deteriorated the economic position of the Arab masses by its hostile attitude and formidable financial power. It has organized a closed and exclusive community in which no Arabs may be employed, but where only Jews will produce and only Jews will profit. It has enabled Zionist capitalists and speculators to monopolize the natural and economic resources of Palestine and to build an abrupt and abnormal Western industry which has disfigured the beauty and charm of the simple rural landscape of the Holy Land. It has stuck a wedge into the Arab world by creating a state within a state and preventing the Jewish immigrants from becoming loyal Palestinian citizens. It has demanded a partition of Palestine after the manner of the thief who offers to restore half of what he has stolen if he is given a legal deed to the other half. It has introduced an alien culture and a modernistic way of life con-

sidered by the Arabs vulgar and indecent. It has ignored the Arabs as nobody and has made every effort to push them aside in their native land. It has misrepresented to a scandalous degree Arab life and character, calling the Arabs an "uncivilized race," "bedouins," and "red Indians." And it has created a perpetual menace not only to Palestine but also to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and the whole Arab world.

In the face of this black record and these stubborn facts that cannot be honestly denied, it is an added insult to tell the Arabs that the Zionist enterprise is a benefit to them. Zionism is not a friend of the Arabs; it is their enemy Number One. Any benefit that reaches the Arabs from Zionism is merely incidental to the Jewish development, and the Zionist policy insures that such benefit shall be as slight as possible. What does it profit the Arab if Palestine becomes prosperous, when an alien, uninvited and unwelcome, has by force of British arms made himself master in the Arab's own house? To the Arab mind economic benefits, if any, are overshadowed by the moral and vital issues that cannot be compromised. The Arabs would rather be starving and free than be fed as hewers of wood and drawers of water for alien masters.

ARABS DEFEND THEIR HERITAGE

Conscious of their great background and inspired by a new national awakening, quick with the promise of a more brilliant future, the Arabs are immovably united in defense of their sacred heritage. Their resistance to the Jewish invasion began with the riot of April, 1920, and continued through many strikes and disturbances which culminated in the war for independence from 1936 until the outbreak of the Second World War. The entire Arab population rose in revolt, determined to fight for freedom and survival. It is a delusion or misrepresentation of reality to ascribe the Arab revolt to the agitation of the muftis and effendis, or the instigation of agents of Germany and Italy. It is the revolt of a proud and highly gifted people whose land had been invaded by military force but whose affection for their country is so passionate that they would rather die fighting in its defense than go elsewhere and

live. Justice and the future are on their side. Should the million Arabs of Palestine be overwhelmed by foreign powers, the coming Arab union, which will have a hundred million people before the end of the present century, will take up the cause and redeem the heart and center of the Arab world from alien invaders. The worst blunder of Zionism is that it underrated the strength of the Arabs and their unconquerable spirit.

THE BRITISH POLICY

Britain has served Zionism against the rights and welfare of the Arabs. Without a sympathetic administration and a British military force, there would have been no Jewish national home. However, twenty-five years of the Zionist experiment has made it clear that the Balfour Declaration is self-contradictory, and that a national home based on territorial sovereignty cannot be accomplished without constant use of military force. The demand of the Zionists for a Jewish state instead of a national home and cultural center, and the uncompromising opposition of the Arabs to Jewish domination, brought the situation in Palestine to a deadlock.

After consultations with Jewish and Arab representatives, the British Government issued the White Paper of May, 1939, in which the final British policy in Palestine is defined. The most important features of this paper are the decision against any further Jewish immigration into Palestine without the consent of the Arabs, the prevention of the sale of Arab lands to Jews except in certain limited areas, and the promise to establish an independent Palestinian State before 1949, in which the majority will inevitably be Arab. In other words, Britain recognizes that Palestine is an Arab country, and that it shall remain an Arab country unless the Arabs decide otherwise.

The policy of the White Paper is not an appeasement of the Arabs but a return to sanity and justice. The wisdom of this policy has been vindicated by its results. Had it not been for the pledges made in the White Paper, British leaders acknowledge that the wholehearted cooperation of the Arabs in the war effort could not have been secured, and Rommel would have won the African campaign and conquered Palestine

and Syria. It was the White Paper, so violently denounced by the Zionists, that saved the Jews in Palestine from extermination by the Nazis. The Labor Government has adhered to the policy of the White Paper and has reaffirmed the British position by declaring that Britain did not undertake to establish a Jewish state but only a Jewish home in Palestine.

PRESSURE GROUPS

When the Zionists found that their extreme demands for a Jewish state and unrestricted immigration were reduced to a limited Zionism, they accused Britain of "bad faith" and turned to America for support. They would have America involved in all the hatreds and disputes generated by Zionism. In order to realize their misplaced nationalistic ambitions they are using subtle and terrific pressure upon Americans to commit their government to the cause of political Zionism. They are asking America to become a party to the robbery in Palestine, to follow a course that would violate the American tradition of democracy and fair play and convert the present vast Arab good will toward America into revulsion and bitter enmity.

Zionist lobbyists have organized the American Palestine Committee, most of whose members are politicians who have no knowledge of the Palestine problem. Jewish votes and support tempt politicians to make use of the sufferings of a people for their own political ambitions. Not a fair settlement of the Palestine question but their own selfish ends determine their attitude. These toadying politicians refuse to admit Jewish sufferers to America, where the population is only 44 persons per square mile, but are quite ready to pass resolutions to compel their entrance into Palestine, where the population is 170 persons per square mile. Let the politicians prove the sincerity of their compassion by opening the doors of their own country to the hapless Jews, instead of clamoring for opening the doors of an Arab country. Americans should not ask the Arabs to do what the Americans refuse to do. When America opens its own gates to receive its proportionate share of the homeless Jews, it will have the right to demand that other countries do likewise. The Arabs resent the interference of American politicians in

the internal affairs of Arab countries. America has no more right to give Palestine to the Zionists than the Arabs have to give New York to the Jews or Massachusetts to the Irish.

CHRISTIANS AND ZIONISM

Another group working for political Zionism is the so-called "Christian Council on Palestine." When men speak in the name of a "Christian" body, the world has a right to expect words of justice, love and reconciliation. Instead, spokesmen of the Christian Council are calling for a Protestant crusade in behalf of Zionism, a crusade not to lift up the banner of the Cross on the Hill of Calvary, but to raise the Star of David over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock. These Protestant clergymen are, no doubt, misinformed and misguided by Zionist propaganda. Nevertheless, they ought to know that their sympathy with the suffering Jews must not involve ill will and injustice to the Arabs. Anti-Islamism is not less contemptible than anti-Semitism.

Moreover, there are 140,000 Christian Arabs in Palestine and two and a half million Christian Arabs in the Middle East who are wholeheartedly united with the Moslem Arabs in the defense of their country. The Christian Arabs are the children of the glorious early Church, and they have a right to expect at least sympathy from the Christian brotherhood in America. They know that the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church are opposed to Jewish domination in Palestine, and they cannot understand why some Protestants are eager to deliver the sacred places connected with the name of Jesus into the hands of the Jews. Try to imagine how it would feel to a Christian Arab to learn that Christian clergymen and politicians in America are offering his country to others. How can our missionaries proclaim the Gospel of Love among the Arabs while the honorable members of the Christian Council conspire with the Jews to rob these same Arabs of their freedom and their native land? Those Christians who would use the authority of the Bible to advocate Zionism and justify its aggression in Palestine quote the Scriptures for the devil's pur-

poses. Christian principles and ethical standards cannot be set aside in any correct interpretation of the Bible.

If "the Jewish problem is a Christian problem," honesty demands that Christians should solve it with what is their own, not with what belongs to the Arabs. It is the height of impertinence, if not hypocrisy, to say that while Palestine is to be converted into a Jewish state, "the rights of the Arabs must be fully recognized." To fight anti-Semitism is the duty of every civilized human being, but that duty could never be fulfilled by dispossessing or submerging the Arabs. If the Christians owe a debt to the Jews, that debt should not be paid by robbing others. Western Christendom cannot make reparation for its wrong against the Jews by committing another wrong against the Arabs. Two wrongs do not make a right. It is one thing to sympathize with the homeless Jews and help them to find a new homeland; and quite another thing to encourage Zionist zealots to stir up the Jews to demand a Jewish state in a land that belongs to another people. It would be more becoming if spokesmen of the Christian Council would use their eloquence to arouse the conscience of Christian nations to give the hapless Jews asylum in the vast domains of America, Canada, Brazil, South Africa, Australia and the boundless British Empire. Now that half a million Jews have found refuge in the tiny Arab state of Palestine, a state which has the same area and four times the population as Vermont, common decency, not to say Christian honor, would forbid any further stuffing of Jews into Palestine while the doors of vast continents are closed in their faces. In offering Palestine to the Jews as their only hope, these Christian knights are evading a manifest duty to a suffering people, and are aiding and abetting international brigandage against the Arabs.

THE ARAB KEYSTONE AND BRIDGE

Look at the map and you will see that Palestine is not only the life-line of the Arab world, but its very heart and center. It is the gateway through which Arab lands as far as Transjordan, Iraq and Nejd must pass in order to have economic and cultural relations with Europe. Zionist control of the Palestinian

harbors would create a barrier between the Arabs and Europe when contact with the West is becoming increasingly important for the new Arab life. Extending, as it does, from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, Palestine is the keystone state of the coming Arab union, and its settlement by Jews would be equivalent to the occupation of Pennsylvania by some foreign power like France or Russia. Palestine is the only bridge between the twenty million Arabs of Western Asia and the forty million Arabs of Northern Africa. Its conversion into a Jewish state would sever the Arab world and prevent its unification. It is no wonder that the Arabs are determined at any cost to keep Palestine in the Arab fold.

The encouragement of political Zionism is an injustice to the Arabs and a disservice to the Jews. For a Jewish state in Palestine would perpetuate enmity between two peoples who should be friends. It does not solve the Jewish problem in Europe; it spreads its evil into Asia and Africa where it never existed before. Instead of providing a peaceful refuge for the infinitely persecuted people, it would be a volcano under the Jews within Palestine and a constant headache to those without. Such a state, conceived in fraud and duplicity; cradled in an environment of distrust and hate cultivated by its own attitude and action; and surrounded by tariff walls and by sixty million Arabs who have been wronged, humiliated and challenged by Zionist aggression—such a state cannot be happy or prosperous or secure. The Arabs want peace in the Middle East and an opportunity to revive Arab culture and civilization. A Jewish state in Palestine would make the Holy Land a breeding plot for wars and a menace to world peace.

JEWISH-ARAB UNITY THE ONLY SOLUTION

The only rights that the Jews of the world have in Palestine are religious, not political. And it is only in a peaceful Palestine, based on Jewish-Arab friendship and cooperation, that the cultural and spiritual ideals of true Zionism can be fulfilled. If there is to be peace in Palestine, Zionism must drop its political alliance with Western military powers, and publicly renounce the intention to dominate or supplant the

Arabs. There can be no other foundation than this for a lasting solution of the Palestine problem. Let the Jews spiritualize their conception of the National Home, and the world will yet see a new demonstration of Arab magnanimity and hospitality. Instead of pleading with military powers to subdue the Arabs temporarily, let the Jews seek to build their new life in Palestine on the firm foundation of Arab friendship and good will while it is yet possible. As one united people with a common citizenship and equal rights, mingling together as good neighbors, Jews and Arabs will be fully able to constitute an independent democratic government capable of determining the future of Palestine and dealing with all subjects, including immigration. In mutual respect and true comradeship they could develop their common country and revive a civilization more brilliant than the one they built in the Middle Ages. In a world torn by greed and hate and force, the two branches of the Semitic race have an opportunity to give a fine example of good will and cooperation.

THE ROLE OF AMERICA

There is a new awakening in Arab lands which promises a genuine revival of Arab greatness. The rising Arab states have a right to expect from the liberal democracies justice and fairness. Sympathy and understanding on the part of the democracies will win the friendship of a great people. If, however, the Arabs are thwarted in their rights and legitimate aspirations, there may come a day when the democracies will wish that they had been friendly.

As for America, the Arabs have faith in her integrity. Through their half-million countrymen who have become American citizens, through the work of American missionaries and the great American University of Beirut, they have come to know and admire the American spirit of democracy and justice. The eagerness with which political parties write Zionist planks in their platforms; with which Congress passes Zionist resolutions for Jewish settlement in Palestine; does not destroy the faith of the Arabs in America. These acts of the politicians are explained by the Jewish vote and Jewish political contribu-

tions. America is better than her politicians. When Americans have the full truth of the Palestine reality, the American spirit of fair play will assert itself. America is the champion of freedom and self-determination of all peoples—everywhere. Surely the Arabs will not be made an exception. There is no reason for America to discriminate against the Arabs. America is too gallant and true to take part in bullying into submission the brave Arabs who live in the land of the Saviour. Let American influence be used to heal the sore of Palestine and bring an understanding between Jews and Arabs based on right and justice. Let all who love Palestine pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

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